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The Shape of Things

STRAINING OUR ANGLO-SAXON TRADITION to the snapping point, we will assume the innocence of Representative Andrew Jackson May until he is proved guilty. We will not rush to conclusions just because his endorsement has been found on checks made out to a dubious lumber company for lumber that was never delivered; nor will we pass hasty judgment on him for allegedly having badgered the army into giving millions of dollars' worth of war contracts to as questionable a collection of characters as ever approached the public trough. We will give the Congressman the benefit of the doubt—but not for long. He has refused to appear before Senator Mead's investigating committee unless guaranteed special and unprecedented privileges. This is asking a great deal for a man who as chairman of the Military Affairs Committee demanded expulsion, without so much as a hearing, of State Department employees whom he chose to regard as "pro-Soviet" and "disloyal." Perhaps the Kentucky representative will be able to refute testimony that he served as guardian angel for an Illinois syndicate that expanded from a letterhead to a "paper empire" by way of lush war contracts; and that in at least one telephone conversation with its Washington agent he demanded his cut. But until he does take the stand, he is clearly disqualified from carrying on as chairman of one of the most powerful committees in Congress. While unrefuted evidence of graft and malfeasance continues to pile up against him, Mr. May cheerfully occupies himself with nothing less monumental than devising legislative controls on the production of atomic energy. Honest as he may be, we would like to see him demonstrate his innocence under oath before nuclear fission becomes the monopoly of his shady business associates.

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A REPORT SIGNED BY EIGHT OF THE TEN members of the Congressional Pearl Harbor Investigating Committee declares that "the ultimate responsibility for the attack and its results rests upon Japan" and that "the diplomatic policies and actions of the United States provided no justifiable provocation whatever." That is not exactly a startling conclusion, and months of painstaking inquiry would hardly have been necessary to establish it but for a concerted attempt to prove that Japan had been maneuvered into undeclared war by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The four Republican members of the Committee, two from the Senate and two from the House, began the investigation apparently convinced of the truth of this thesis and intent only on finding "facts" to support it. To their credit, Representatives Keefe and Gearhart have been sufficiently impressed by the evidence to sign the majority report, the former with some reservations. Senators Ferguson and Brewster, however, have lost none of the fine prosecuting zeal with which they set out. Having failed to find the proofs they wanted, they accuse their Democratic colleagues of suppression of facts. Their minority report might just as well have been written without any inquiry for it simply repeats the accusations against the late President and some of his chief advisers that they had made before. The verdict of history, we think, will not bear out their charge that on December 6 and 7, 1941, Mr. Roosevelt failed "to take that quick and instant executive action which was required by the occasion." This vendetta pursued beyond the grave reflects on its perpetrators, not its victim.

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AT NO TIME SINCE THE COUP THAT BROUGHT Villarroel and his gang to power in Bolivia has there been doubt in informed circles about the nature of the regime. Several articles in *The Nation,* beginning with one by Manuel Seoane immediately after the new government was set up at the end of 1943, gave precise facts to establish its fascist character. The State Department's decision to recognize it—after a fake investigation by our chief whitewasher, Avra Warren—was based strictly on considerations of expediency. The department apparently hoped both to draw Bolivia out of the Argentine orbit, and to stop Nazi activities there. Like other similar maneuvers this one succeeded only in confusing public opinion here and in Latin America. The Bolivian regime continued as an out-and-out dictatorship with Axis ties; its affiliation with Perón became even closer. Although its leaders constantly proclaimed their love of freedom, attempts by democratic groups to function legally were met with assaults, arrests, and frequent assassinations. At the end of May this year Villarroel proclaimed a state of seige, suspending all constitutional rights and locking up a lot of opposition leaders and newspaper publishers. Now Villarroel is dead and a revolutionary group, supported by some elements in the army, has smashed the regime after several days of sanguinary fighting. The

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rebels have liberated all political prisoners, and their worker and student leaders have invited members of the Supreme Court and the head of the National University to join them in choosing a provisional government.

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LAME-DUCK SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER will find his best political epitaph in, of all places, the New York *Daily News*. Even more intrenched in isolationism than Wheeler, and if possible more vindictive, the *News* at last concedes defeat. In the repudiation of Senators Wheeler and Shipstead by the voters of Montana and Minnesota respectively, the *News* admits "you have something . . . If this is not a trend, then we do not know one when we see one." Could it be that the late Captain Patterson was wrong; that the nation was really behind President Roosevelt all the time and didn't have to be "lied into the war?" The *News* doesn't go so far, but perhaps if its editors look more deeply into the matter they will find that since Pearl Harbor the people have turned out of office not merely Shipstead and Wheeler, but such other stars of the isolationist firmament as Clark of Missouri and Clark of Idaho, Danaher of Connecticut and Holt of West Virginia, Nye of North Dakota and Fish of New York. "Mass movement" would be a more descriptive term than "trend." We said last week that the Montana race was not a clear-cut test on the isolationist issue, that the campaign had been complicated by such extraneous issues as the President's ill-considered endorsement of Wheeler. We believe that to be true; but the complications all favored Wheeler, who was generally expected to win by a small margin. His defeat in spite of these advantageous cross-currents is the clearest kind of repudiation of the isolationism which in a period of six years reduced him from the stature of a liberal crusader to the proportions of an embittered, narrow-minded man. The liberal who entered the Senate in proud association with the elder La Follette, Norris, Borah, and Tom Walsh, leaves public life in the company of Hamilton Fish, Stephen Day, Father Coughlin, and the rest of that unsavory band that called itself "America First."

⁎

CONDOLENCES TO THE STATE OF GEORGIA on the untimely resurrection of Eugene Talmadge. After four years of Ellis Arnall's enlightened administration in Atlanta, it would be hard in any circumstances for Georgians to face a return to the spoils system in government, ranting chauvinism in public life, sinking standards in boss-controlled schools, and all the other blessings peculiar to the Talmadge-Bilbo brand of demagogy. It is particularly hard to face this prospect in the knowledge that a majority of Georgians want no part of it and voted against it by a margin of more than 70,000. Talmadge owes his election to two known factors. The first is Georgia's county-unit electoral system, whereby one

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vote in Chatahoochee County is the equivalent of twenty votes in Atlanta. This rotten-borough mechanism goes far to explain Talmadge's victory over James V. Carmichael, who was Governor Arnall's choice as a successor, but it does not go far enough. Four years ago Arnall won despite the county-unit system and without the 100,000 Negro votes that supposedly went to Carmichael.

*

THE KEY TO TALMADGE'S SUCCESS WAS the intrusion of a third candidate—former Governor Rivers. There is reason to believe that the Rivers campaign was financed by the same Georgia Light and Power gang that backed Talmadge, in a deliberate and successful attempt to cut into the Carmichael vote in doubtful counties. By subtracting the 100,000 Negro votes from the Carmichael total it would appear that a majority of 30,000 white Georgians voted for Talmadge, but here a third factor—necessarily unproved but reliably credited—must be taken into account: namely, that the full Negro vote did not in reality go to Carmichael. A number of these ballots are believed to have been bought for Talmadge, a substantial number captured by intimidation, and an unknown percentage simply stolen. If such explanations, however valid, are small comfort, there is at least the reassuring fact that a majority of Georgians did vote against Talmadge. They are not likely to allow archaic electoral machinery to prolong minority rule indefinitely.

*

ATTORNEY GENERAL TOM CLARK IS HOLDING a stick of dynamite in the form of a report brought back from Nürnberg by his special assistant, O. John Rogge. This is the same Mr. Rogge who two years ago was forced to suspend the sedition cases against a number of Firsters, Bundists, and other national pests for lack of clinching evidence. His report has not been made public officially, but portions of the document, in addition to testimony taken by Army Intelligence officers, have been cited in the columns of Drew Pearson and Marquis Childs. From Herbert von Strempel, formerly one of Göring's Washington agents, the investigators learned of a huge slush fund for the defeat of Roosevelt in 1940. Von Strempel himself had $5,000,000 to spend, but Göring scoffed when asked whether this was the full amount. "Five million!" he is quoted as replying. "We were prepared to spend from $150,000,000 to $200,000,000 to achieve that end." Göring is reported to have worked through William R. Davis, the oil man who, it will be recalled, was credited with inspiring John L. Lewis to break with Roosevelt and with financing Lewis's dramatic broadcast to the nation on that occasion. There is a great deal more in the findings of Mr. Rogge and his associates, touching on nationally known figures. We withold further comment until full publication of the report—or the resumption of the trials. But in the meantime we want to warn against efforts to eliminate another agency that has been useful in tracking down American ramifications of the Nazi conspiracy. This is the military affairs subcommittee headed by Senator Kilgore, which has delved deeply into German cartel connections in the United States. Speedy publication of the Rogge report should help checkmate such Senators as Brooks of Illinois and Wherry of Nebraska, who have been leading an undercover fight to kill the committee and minimize its findings.

Inquest on a Dead Pigeon

LEON HENDERSON said last week that, regardless of what action Congress finally took, OPA was a "dead pigeon." That finding, we fear, will prove accurate even though the President decides to sign the bill that has emerged from the Senate-House conference. The best thing that can be said for this measure is that it includes a drastic revision of the Taft amendment, but against this improvement must be set the fact that it exempts some important basic commodities from controls and leaves the prices of others free to gyrate until August 20, when their fate is to be decided by a new three-man decontrol board. Since the bill also provides that the Department of Agriculture is to have the last word on farm prices, this means that OPA will in the future divide its authority with two other bodies. That should prove a sure guarantee of administrative chaos, which is, perhaps, the objective of some members of Congress. But even though the bill were a sound one, it is doubtful if effective control over prices could be reestablished. Three weeks of mad markets have shattered the line and stouter levers than Congress has provided would probably prove powerless to roll prices of primary products back to June 29 level.

There will certainly be a concerted effort to blame the end of effective price control, with its many dangers, on Mr. Truman because legally it was his veto that cut markets loose. But we do not think that all the people, or even nearly all of them, will be fooled this time. They know that the measure the President turned down was a phoney; they know, too, that it would have been perfectly possible for Congress to pass on July 1 a bill temporarily extending price control. That would have prevented prices from getting out of hand pending a new effort to achieve satisfactory legislation extending OPA for another year. The House passed such an extension bill in short order but the Senate, under the leadership of Taft, O'Daniel, and others, balked. These Senators cannot dodge major responsibility for the consequences of the inflationary forces they so recklessly let loose.

In the three weeks which have passed since price control ended Americans have had a suggestion of just how destructive those forces may prove and, we suspect, much worse is still to come. For except in the case of some

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foods the rise in primary commodities has not yet been reflected at the retail level. This is due both to a normal time lag and to a go-slow policy on the part of processors and merchants who have been anxious to see what would happen in Congress before adjusting their prices in accordance with the changes in commodity quotations. The relief thus afforded to consumers is, however, likely to prove very fleeting. They can be sure that, when the cotton and the hides now being bought at sharply advanced prices are turned into shirts and shoes, the retailers' tags will tell the story.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the index of producer prices of twenty-eight basic commodities rose 24.8 per cent between June 29 and July 16. In the same period, industrial raw materials advanced 19.1 per cent, wholesale food prices 33 per cent. An attempt is being made to explain away such increases by saying they are quite modest if comparison is made not with ceiling prices on June 29 but with black-market prices which, it is claimed, represented realities in the case of many commodities. Thus the New York *Journal of Commerce,* whose daily index of sensitive commodity prices showed a rise of 16.2 per cent on July 15, declares that the actual rise, using a black-market instead of an official base and allowing for the ending of subsidies, is *only* 6.3 per cent—in itself a sensational advance in little over two weeks. But in any case this argument is invalid since it assumes that most people were paying black market prices prior to June 29, while actually a very large number would not, or could not, do so. That surely is demonstrated by the fact that so many consumers have indignantly refused to pay the new prices for meat and butter. Had they been accustomed to buying in the black market, they would hardly have been so outraged.

Such consumer resistance, incidentally, is the one hopeful feature of the present situation. It has already proved moderately effective in the case of meat, when a quite unjustifiably steep rise in the price of livestock resulted in a healthy coincidence between a rush of animals from the farms and a housewives' refusal to buy. But to be effective a consumers' strike must be organized and widespread. It will require the strong backing of both unions and civic bodies, and the pressure must be steadily maintained. We are glad to see that the C. I. O., as well as many of its affiliated unions, have begun to move in this direction, and we hope that the A. F. of L. will not allow factional differences to prevent it from adding its powerful support.

From the trade-union point of view it is much better to check inflation on the price front than to try and outflank it by forcing an increase in wages. Should the cost of living continue to climb, pressure for higher wages will naturally develop. But union leaders know well that the labor hounds can seldom catch up with the price hare and that both hunter and hunted are likely to end up by plunging into the chasm of deflation. Strikes for higher wages, therefore, should be a last resort under present circumstances; strikes against higher prices, by a reduction of purchases to absolute necessities, will prove a more effective remedy.

Obligations in Palestine

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

AS DISCUSSIONS on the Palestine issue proceed in London behind sealed doors, it is important for Americans to keep in mind a few basic facts. If we forget them we are likely to fall into a mood of exaggerated compunction which will help neither our own position nor those of the peoples more directly involved.

The first of these facts is that the Mandate for Palestine, with its explicit obligations to the Jews, was accepted by Britain for obvious political reasons. If altruistic ends were served they were, let us admit without reproach, incidental or at least subsidiary. But the obligations were undertaken none the less and the adoption in 1939 of the policy described in the White Paper, whatever its immediate justification in terms of imperial strategy, in no way absolved Britain of a commitment which had been accepted by both the League of Nations and the United States as one of the basic conditions of the Mandate. The White Paper merely violated the terms of the Mandate, as the League declared and as leading British statesmen, including the present Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, and his predecessor, Mr. Churchill, charged at the time. A mandate is not a private enterprise to be administered as a person might administer his country estate; it is an international public trust and its violation is every nation's business.

The facts that financial support for the Jewish National Home has come largely from the United States, and that our large Jewish population overwhelmingly favors the Zionist development admittedly give this country no special political rights in Palestine. They do, however, create a special interest which is legitimate as well as inevitable and which has always been admitted by Britain. That the voting strength of Jews, especially in large centers like New York and Chicago, has influenced the attitude of the Administration and of both major parties cannot even be questioned; I wonder in what democratic country this would not be the case. Jewish influence has served partly to offset contrary pressures, such as those of the great oil interests, in determining this nation's policy in Palestine and the Middle East generally. It is a political factor which must be given its full weight in analyzing the balance of forces in America; but only an anti-Semite would be tempted to convert it into an accusation.

When the President proposed that Palestine admit 100,000 displaced persons from Europe, he had no rea-

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son to think that his advice would be considered an intrusion into Britain's national affairs; nor indeed had he any right to assume that the Labor Government was intending to continue in Palestine a policy for which it had bitterly attacked the Tories. The Labor Party had been explicit in its campaign promises: it was committed to the abolition of the White Paper. Like liberals in other countries, British Labor had taken the view that the Empire's interests would be served rather than injured by carrying out the purposes of the Mandate; and the plight of Europe's surviving Jews, and even the difficulty and expense of providing a minimum of protection and food for those who had flocked into the D. P. camps in the British and American zones of occupation, counseled speedy action. Once in office, however, and confronted with the intransigence of Colonial officials in Palestine and the threats of Arab agitators, the Labor ministers drew back from the logic of their own arguments. The Anglo-American Joint Committee of Inquiry was called into being to serve several purposes at once: first, to delay a final decision; second, to commit the United States to the proposition that if it wanted to give advice, it should also be prepared to accept responsibility; and third, to acquaint the United States at first hand with the thorny difficulties in the way of the mandate.

How far the British Government hoped also to implicate this country in the actual defense and administration of Palestine still remains a question. But from our point of view, participation in the Joint Inquiry committed us to nothing beyond the terms of the inquiry itself, and the unanimous report which resulted assumed the continuing responsibility of the British Government as the mandatory power. Only after the report had been published, and after Mr. Truman had reiterated his hope that at least the recommendation to admit 100,000 refugees would be promptly carried out, was the idea that America should become permanently involved in Palestine put forward in England.

Never has this idea been fully explored. Its first official appearance was in Mr. Attlee's speech of May 1 in which he said that "His Majesty's Government wish to be satisfied that they will not be called upon to implement a policy that would involve them single-handed in such commitments, and . . . they wish to ascertain to what extent the government of the United States will be prepared to share the resultant military and financial responsibilities." It has cropped up since then in various forms, official and otherwise. And by repetition and gradual extension it is coming to imply that America has no business to press for action in Palestine unless it is prepared to back up such action with arms.

This implication the United States should refuse to tolerate. Assuming for the purposes of discussion that Britain has a right to request American military help in carrying out its policy in Palestine—an assumption which would, I believe, be sharply challenged in the Security Council—we have an equal right to consider such a proposal strictly on its merits. Nothing we have said or done about Palestine imposes upon us an obligation to say yes. And if we decide to say no, we do not thereby forfeit our right—which is also a duty—to insist that Britain live up to the terms of the mandate under which it governs Palestine. Nothing could be more unfortunate than to allow ourselves to be jockeyed into a position where we feel we must keep our mouths closed or dispatch an armed force to Haifa. A "put up or shut up" attitude in London won't help soften Anglo-American tension.

On the other hand, not as a quid pro quo but as a contribution to good relations and an early solution of the refugee problem, we should recognize Britain's anxieties and do what we can to mitigate them. First of all we should erase the impression that we intend to sit back with our heels on the table offering advice while Jews, Arabs, and British slug it out in Palestine, and Russia watches from the side-lines. The United States has already offered to undertake the transfer of the 100,000 D. P.'s, if they are admitted to Palestine, and provide funds for their settlement and rehabilitation. American Jewish agencies have promised full support, and enormous sums of money have already been raised to enable the Jewish community in Palestine to absorb the refugees with as little internal dislocation as possible. But this is not enough. What the United States must do if it is to reassure even the most friendly and pro-Zionist Labor people in England, is to indicate a willingness to help solve the tangled problems of the Middle East of which Palestine is only the most unyielding. British leaders know very well that powerful economic interests, notably oil and aviation, strongly opposed to the Committee report and the President's attitude, are doing their best to undermine both. They know that key men in the State Department and in diplomatic posts in the Middle East are bitterly anti-Zionist and can be counted upon to encourage Arab resistance to any change of policy. Leaders like Laski who are trying to induce their government to accept the report would be immensely helped if they could believe the United States would stand firm, after election as well as before, and would refuse to take advantage of Britain if the ending of Arab appeasement should result in penalties to British interests.

Above all, our position would be strengthened in England and in Palestine if we were to agree to accept a fair proportion of those European Jews who wish to emigrate but do not insist on going to Palestine. Small or large, the number is unimportant. What is needed is proof that our concern for the fate of a dispossessed people is generous enough to induce us to open our own doors. By an understandable paradox, it would be the most effective method we could use to pry open the doors of Palestine.

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Atoms and Common Sense

BY ALFRED FRIENDLY

Washington, July 18

A WASHINGTON observer may be permitted to doubt the truth of that tiresome cliché to the effect that modern transportation and communication have shrunk our planet into a single community, in which ideas circulate with the speed of light.

In Washington, at least, it just isn't so. To get an idea from the Federal Triangle to Capitol Hill takes years; to get one from the people of the country into the Senate or House is, with this Congress, practically impossible. This past week has provided disheartening proof of the existence of a Chinese Wall, or perhaps an impassable tropical jungle, encompassing the Capitol —insuring the legislators against violation of their tradition: learn nothing, forget nothing.

At one end of Constitution Avenue, in the Interior Department auditorium, was a two-day Institute on World Control of Atomic Energy. It was addressed by distinguished, literate, and intelligent speakers. With logic, humor, illustration, and exhortation, they stressed two points, neither novel but both profoundly true. The first was that domestic development of atomic energy must be freed from military domination, and the second was that our only defense against an atomic war and our only hope of survival lie in a world organization, set up by international law, to control atomic energy.

At the other end of the avenue, on the floor of the House, there was a debate on the May-mangled McMahon bill. And for every scientist at the Institute who demonstrated that there could be no "secret" in atomic discoveries, there was a Representative who screamed against this legislation which would "give the secret away." For every round of applause in the Interior auditorium approving the thesis that atom bombs from abroad were the only replies to be expected to atom-bomb manufacture at home, there were equivalent huzzas in the House greeting pleas for army manufacture of more and bigger atomic weapons of our own.

As this is written, the House has not yet acted on the McMahon bill. Administration leaders may succeed in knocking off the amendments tacked on by Chairman Andrew Jackson May and his Republican allies in the Military Affairs Committee. A pair of the amendments require one and permit two members of the armed forces to serve on the domestic control commission. A third amendment insists that the director of the proposed military applications division of the commission be an army or navy man, and a fourth authorizes the army to manufacture atomic bombs at the rate it sees fit.

Even if the outcome of the House deliberations is favorable, there remains, to keep us all awake at night, the terrifying fact that such a large number of legislators are imbued with such a large amount of ignorance, misconceptions and tortured conclusions. Representative Rich, Republican of Pennsylvania, wants to bury the bomb and all its secrets so deep that no one else can ever find them. Representative J. Parnell Thomas, Republican of New Jersey, residual legatee of the Dies Committee, apparently wants to bar scientists from atomic work because they yearn to give the secrets to Russia. Representative Elston, Republican of Ohio, who has found an entrancingly simple formula for making all decisions, abhors civilian control because Communists favor it.

Even if the Congressmen were not convinced or impressed or even touched by the Institute (which was sponsored by the National Committee on Atomic Information), even if they aren't susceptible to learning, their very imperviousness points to the need for the Institute, for more and more forums that will tell other Americans the frightful truth of this age—that we have found a way to destroy ourselves and the whole world.

Most speakers at the Institute had no illusions. They knew what was going on in Congress and what was *not* going on in the minds of too many Americans elsewhere.

Philip Morrison, of Los Alamos and Hiroshima, told of a Professor Nishina, who, with $20 worth of equipment, worked in Hiroshima for a few weeks and solved the fundamentals of the release of nuclear energy, discovering bomb facts still held secret in this country, all without the benefit of the Smyth report. William Higinbotham, Chairman of the American Federation of Scientists, told what America would have to do when the Professor Nishinas all over the world had completed their studies and built bombs of their own: "We shall be forced to give up the concept of cities."

Quoting a War Department General Staff report, Higinbotham noted its two recommendations—urged for action now, not at some future date. They are: "Evacuation of unnecessary inhabitants from threatened urban areas [translation: every major city in the nation] and . . . rapid creation of adequate shelters for people who must remain." Those results, Higinbotham commented, "could not be accomplished without regimentation and discipline such as Americans have never yet tolerated.

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[This program] would require giving up our freedom."

Even some of the speakers appeared to need enlightenment. A basic finding of the Lilienthal committee, restated by its secretary, Carroll L. Wilson, was lost on John Hancock, Bernard Baruch's advisor on the U. N. Atomic Commission. This was that at the present stage in world affairs, human nature, and the atomic art, the best that could be hoped for from an international control plan was defense against a *surprise* atomic attack. Hancock, even as Baruch in New York, continued to flog away at his Utopian, unrealizable, and very dead horse: a demand for abandonment of the veto right at a level where the veto power is simply not germane.

Pierre Auger, scientific advisor to the French delegation on the U. N. Atomic Commission, distilled the issue into a couple of sentences: Of course the agreement providing for an Atomic Development Authority had to be a treaty, meaning a document no individual section of which could be abrogated at will by any signatory. But if it were violated, the issue would obviously be a question of going to war. And whether or not the violator nation chose in the Security Council to veto the declaration of war against it was by way of being academic.

It was Auger, in fact, who best and most thriftily stated each issue before the Institute and before the world. (It is noteworthy, incidentally, that American scientists look to him and his two colleagues, Joiliot-Curie and Kowarski, as their real representatives in the U. N. Conceivably, this may be explained by Baruch's remarkable choice of advisors.) Auger was the one to state most simply that the generosity of the American control plan would be better understood if we, unilaterally, announced that we had suspended the assembly of atomic bombs. He was the one to note that it was less than ideal negotiating tactics for Baruch to demand an inventory of atomic ore deposits from other nations without at the same time giving any promise of a *quid pro quo*—particularly when secret information on the location of ore resources is the only asset some of the participating nations possess.

Finally, it was Auger who brought out that in the great peace-seeking effort of the Americans in the U. N. Atomic Commission, Baruch had failed to present the foreign delegates with one scintilla of helpful scientific information as a first gesture of our promised sharing of fundamental (not atom-bomb) data.

(The wisecrack of Professor Wigner, head of the Oak Ridge laboratories, on this subject is worth recording. Asked how much information the Manhattan District had released at a recent scientific meeting, in accordance with a prior promise, Wigner replied, "Speaking approximately, very little; speaking exactly, none at all.")

It remained for Mrs. Edward U. Condon, wife of the distinguished head of the Bureau of Standards, to add the last summary of the Institute, the state of science, and world affairs. Secretary Wallace, her dinner partner at the Institute banquet, was pointing out to her that soon science would be able to control all matter.

"Except," said Mrs. Condon, "the matter with the human race."

Salazar: Franco's Junior Partner

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, July 19

THE STORY of British policy toward Spain would be incomplete if Salazar were left out. From the beginning the Spanish and Portuguese dictatorships have run a parallel course, rendering each other the most valuable services. The Badajoz massacre near the start of the Spanish War, which opened the decade of Franquist terror, was one of the first fruits of this infamous collaboration; the Salazar police drove Spanish Republican fugitives back across the border to be herded into the Badajoz bullring, where thousands were machine-gunned. Until very recently the Unitarian Service Committee was still struggling to find haven overseas for Spanish Republicans in Portugal who were in immediate danger of being arrested and delivered to Franco. The Spanish dictator would not have felt so sure of himself these past years had he not been able to count on an efficient ally in Portugal. Conversely, Salazar would long ago have been overthrown had it not been for a Spanish army ready to back him in a crisis. The offensive and defensive alliance between Spain and Portugal, signed by the two dictators when they realized that Hitler's fate was sealed, continues this bloody partnership.

Personally, Salazar is more presentable than Franco. He is far more intelligent and has not the degree of cruelty that characterizes the former chief of the Moorish Legion. But the political ideas the two men espouse are identical. A single party, the Uniao Nacional, similar in structure to the Spanish Falange, constitutes the base of Salazar's corporate state. As in Spain, the church in Portugal is on the side of the dictator. The head of the hierarchy, Cardinal Cerrejeira of Lisbon, is an old friend of Salazar; they studied together at the University of Coimbra and a twist of fate might easily have reversed their roles in life. As in Spain, the cost of living has increased enormously in Portugal. From 1939 to 1944, years for which official figures are available, living costs rose 210 per cent; they are even higher today. In the

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same period, wages and salaries increased by only 35 per cent. Rosy accounts of prosperity under Salazar are pure fiction; the Portuguese masses know only poverty and starvation. Food consumption averages 9 kilograms of meat, 11 litres of milk, 186 grams of cheese, 485 grams of butter, and 40 eggs *per capita per annum.* Little wonder that, according to one of the country's outstanding physicians, one of Portugal's 8,000,000 people dies of tuberculosis every fifteen minutes.

Again as in Spain, the opposition to Salazar has spread to circles which originally were the very source of his power. This fact has made Britain and the United States consider the advisibility of repainting the dictatorship some brighter, democratic hue. Last fall, under Anglo-American pressure, Salazar announced that "free elections" would be held on November 18. The opposition was allowed to participate under certain conditions: first, a candidate had to declare his acceptance of the corporate state; second, no one who had spent some years outside of Portugal could run for office—in other words, the entire democratic opposition in exile was excluded (compare this with the projected "amnesty" in Spain to which I referred in my *Nation* article of July 6); finally, the electoral census was rigged to prevent thousands of the regime's adversaries from voting.

Though the November election was a farce, it convinced Salazar that the whole operation had been extremely dangerous. The day after his proclamation of the election, the opposition came out fighting. They formed the M. U. D. (Movimiento de Unidad Democratica), a coalition which included democrats of every creed, from conservatives to Communists. But after twenty years of illegality they needed time to reorganize their forces; they asked that the voting be postponed for six months and backed up their demand with mass meetings and demonstrations. Dismayed by this impressive show of strength, Salazar refused any delay, whereupon the M. U. D. took the only course open to it and issued a call for a boycott of the election. On polling day no more than 25 per cent of the electorate voted. This Pyrrhic victory showed Salazar that 75 per cent of the Portuguese want neither him nor his regime.

Since then Salazar's health has deteriorated. This year for the first time he failed to speak on May 28, the anniversary of the dictatorship. The names of two possible successors are already circulating in Lisbon: the Minister of War, Santos Costa, a tough, dyed-in-the-wool reactionary, and Marcelo Caetano, the more subtle and intelligent Minister of Colonies.

Salazar—or, if he should die, his regime—is bolstered on one side by Franco, on the other by the British. A few days ago in Paris I met two Portuguese democrats, one of whom had just arrived from Lisbon and the other from London, where he has lived for several years. We talked about our respective countries and the role Portugal is playing in British policy toward Spain, a role wholly consonant with the tradition of Anglo-Portuguese relations. The oldest alliance in existence today is that between Portugal and England, dating from 1373; for the last two centuries particularly Portugal has been more or less within the sphere of British interests.

Both my friends are convinced that fear of Russia is the key to Britain's status quo policy, which maintains fascism in power in the Iberian Peninsula. One of them went so far as to say that Portugal is the decisive factor underlying British hostility to the return of a democratic regime in Spain; a victory for the Spanish Republic would mean the early end of Salazar, and Britain does not want that.

As a result, said the man from Lisbon, resentment is growing among Portuguese democrats of every political conviction. The people of Portugal have always felt a strong admiration and friendship for democratic England and its people, seafarers like themselves. They reckon that without the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, what remains of their country's once-great colonial empire would have been lost. But on the other hand, they know well that British protection has been dictated by self-interest; that Britain has as much to gain as Portugal from safeguarding the integrity of Portuguese territories in Europe and overseas; that Britain has never hesitated to use the big stick when the Portuguese have refused to submit to its will, as they did during and after the Napoleonic invasion, and again in 1890. Nor have they forgotten that before the first World War, in one of those appeasement moves toward Germany that inspires British policy from time to time, London was disposed to sell out the Portuguese colonies to satisfy the Kaiser's appetite for *lebensraum.*

But until now these manifestations of greed and selfishness were attributed to Tory rule or tradition. In 1945, after the overwhelming Labor victory, the Portuguese breathed a sigh of relief; Lisbon and Oporto, the birthplace of the Republic, acclaimed the advent of the new British government as the beginning of a new era in Anglo-Portuguese relations. Disillusionment set in very soon. Today Whitehall appears quite satisfied with the tact displayed by Salazar's dictatorship. The Lisbon brand of fascism is more gentlemanly than Madrid's and testifies to British influence by its careful observance of good manners in the exercise of terror. One never hears stories from Lisbon of mass executions such as took place in the Spanish prison of Alcala de Henares; Salazar quietly dispatches his enemies to the concentration camp of Tarrafal, in the Cape Verde Islands. There his victims work in a quarry under the tropical sun. The camp's official mortality figures list 9.73 per cent of deaths due to malaria; actually the rate is much higher. When asked for quinine, Esmeraldo Prata, the colonial doctor in charge of the camp "health service," answers: "My job

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here is to sign death certificates." Tuberculosis is rampant; one of the next to die from it will probably be Edmundo Petro, a true "premature anti-fascist" who entered the "Camp of Death" in 1935 when he was only fifteen years old. On the whole, however, repression is carried out more discreetly than in Spain and gives the British Foreign Office fewer headaches.

I asked my London friend, who had listened to this recital in silence, what he thought. He said that having lived in England many years, he could not help but admire the sterling qualities of its people, though this never blinded him to the evils of its foreign policy. "Unfortunately, the great majority of the English people are convinced, today more than ever, that they always win the last battle. They have developed such self-admiration that they are in danger of falling prey to the master-race complex. The fact remains that after having helped to save mankind from Nazism, for which they deserve the gratitude of all democrats, the English today are the most disliked people in the world. And they seem not to realize this, or to care." Then he added, "The worst of it is that though they never seem to tire of praising the liberal character of their own institutions, they always foster reactionary governments elsewhere."

My Portuguese friends are convinced that the battle is one and the same for Portugal and Spain. Theirs is a feeling shared with growing intensity by large numbers of Portuguese and Spaniards. The idea of closer collaboration has been spurred by the co-existence of fascist regimes in the two countries and by the realization that the Anglo-Saxon powers are playing the same anti-democratic game in both. The Uniao dos Anti-Fascistas Portugueses en Francia have invited me to address their first big public meeting in Paris on July 25; they did so because they know we are bound to work together for the liberation of Spain and Portugal, and that we are bound to keep on working together beyond that. A common destiny links the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula.

Can Man Survive?

BY G. BROCK CHISHOLM

II

AT this early stage of his evolution we must not take it for granted that man's present dominant position on this star called Earth is necessarily permanent. Outside of such possibilities of his obliteration as we suggested last week, if man should become complacent and for a time ignore some of his rivals, he might be destroyed very quickly. Suppose man, after a few generations of freedom from smallpox or diphtheria, no longer thought of these enemies and stopped vaccinating and inoculating children. Epidemics like the old Black Death could quite conceivably wipe out most, or even all, of the world's human population in a very short time, helped along by the rapid methods of transportation introduced by man. It is quite possible that one of the species of bacteria or viruses might develop a degree of virulence which man could not cope with until he had become extinct in large areas of the world. Other animals have been defeated, and apparently permanently.

Continual and permanent vigilance is necessary if man is to survive on Earth—though even with all he can do, he may sooner or later be rendered extinct as have so many other animals before him.

In spite of these obvious truths, it appears that man generally regards his tenancy on Earth as permanent and unassailable. He has, until quite recently, very extensively wasted the natural resources of Earth, with no thought for future generations at all. Even yet we note that many of Earth's raw products are being used faster than they are being replaced. This shortsighted policy, so usual in man despite his intelligence, seems to persist as a result of the local and short-term points of view he seems to have about everything.

It follows then that man's natural and inevitable future lies in the further development and use of his brain, his ability to think. All indications suggest that if there is any universal plan for man (which is not to be taken for granted) it must involve that development of his thinking power. His survival demands it and his evolution up to now shows it to be his only superiority over other animals. There has, of course, been a gradual, though interrupted, development of this ability in man; but it is very evident that the actual thinking equipment available is not by any means used effectively to attain the ends man generally professes to want to attain. We notice that throughout man's history there have been, and still are, certain influences which prevent, in the individual and in groups, the full use of man's intellectual endowment. These influences, which everywhere limit man's thinking, make blind spots in his experience, and distort his judgment and decisions, are his "taboos."

GENERAL G. BROCK CHISHOLM is Canada's Deputy Minister of National Health and Canadian delegate to the United Nations Health Assembly. This is the second and concluding installment of an article based on the proposition that "the problem of society in a world trembling with the power of self-destruction is essentially the problem of society's individuals."

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Taboos are the social sanctions set up in all tribes of humans by interested and powerful individuals or groups and authoritatively imposed on the young to protect the privileges, ideas, or faiths of the old people. Such taboos may prevent young men of the tribe from wandering away to explore certain rivers or mountains, explorations which must not be undertaken because "a terrible and powerful god lives there," or because "the spirits of the ancestors would not like it," or for any one of many possible magic reasons. They proscribe changes from the ways of the old people or demand certain attitudes or obediences. In various human communities taboos affect attitudes about such things as money systems, educational systems, systems of government, sexual education and behavior, marriage, clothes, health, foods, and religion.

In many of the most important questions of life it is evident that the minds of large numbers, indeed almost all, of the human race are not freely open to consider how true or untrue old ideas are, or to consider any advantages which might be found in new ideas. Old ideas and customs are generally called "good" or "sound," and new ideas, or experimental thinking or behavior, are usually labeled "bad," "unsound," "communist," "heretical," or any of many other words.

The power these words have obtained over much of the race is astonishing. They are the symbols of the control that older people and the past have, and cling to, over young people and the future. They are the chains that bind man to his miserable past and his discouraging present. They are the premises which were incorporated into consciences when each human was too young and dependent to defend himself by using his intelligence. We find that rarely is it possible to discuss intelligently, without striking prejudices which have been inculcated in childhood, such ordinary commonplace things as health, clothes, Negroes, politics, patriotism, conscience, Jews, superstitions, war and peace, money, sex, property, marriage, religions, some diseases, India, wage scales, socialism, communism, trade unions, political parties, and so on through a long list which varies from place to place, time to time, and family to family. Very few people can think clearly and honestly about many of these things; and yet these, and such as these, are the things which make up the life of man and which, misunderstood, mishandled, and fought over, have caused most of the fear and misery in the world.

Most of the humans on Earth are sure that they know what is "right" and "wrong" about every one of these questions; but there is no general agreement, and we find that in almost all cases the certainty comes, not from intelligent consideration, but from the accident of birth into a particular family at a particular time and place. The certainties have generally been imposed in infancy and any questioning of their validity called "bad," "wicked," "evil," or some like word, accompanied by evidence of strong parental disapproval. Parents are usually quite sure that their values, learned in the same way, are true, final, and permanent.

It is amazing that this attitude can be so universal when even in the next house may live other, just as intelligent people who have quite different sets of "rights" and "wrongs." Rarely do we find humans who examine their authorities. Mothers and fathers are supposed to have acquired, by the mere fact of giving life to children, all wisdom on all subjects, and very usually pose as authorities on every aspect of living to their children, even though their own living may not have been at all happy, satisfying to themselves, or useful to the community.

When we investigate to find the time at which taboos are introduced into the thinking process, we find everywhere that the distortions are produced in childhood. The method is the application of fear—fear of punishment, fear of loss of parental protection, fear of disapproval and consequent insecurity. Distinctions are drawn for the child by labeling all activities or interests as "good" or "bad." And it is very evident that the human race has been doing this for a long time. At least several thousand years ago these same methods were in vogue. Certain writings of long ago, however, show a better understanding of the threat to the race inherent in this system than is common now. The early folklore of the Hebrew tribes, for instance, contains a story in which their god, Jehovah, or Yahveh, warned the first man and woman against having anything to do with good and evil. A serpent, symbolizing the tempter who seduced them away from the true destiny of man, induced them to adopt the conceptions of good and evil, promising them that they would become as gods. As gods they could control other people by the use of good and evil. The old story goes on to show how, at that moment, they introduced guilt, fear, shame, prudery, and deceit to the human race. I find much wisdom in this ancient story and marvel that so little of that wisdom has survived to the present time.

In looking about us we see that taboos have, perhaps, been most rigid, and the distortion of thinking most prevalent, in relation to the whole field of reproduction. The sexual taboo is usually set up in early infancy. All normal infants explore their environment as extensively as possible, and this exploration naturally includes their own bodies. They, of course, have no concept of the feelings associated with some parts of their bodies being "good" and those associated with other parts "bad." The first impressive introduction to this limiting concept commonly occurs when they are first "caught" touching their genital organs. The offending hand is slapped and the accusation of "bad, bad" is made. There is little probability of any child so misinformed about equipment

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so vitally important in marriage, making a really satisfactory marital adjustment later in life. The flavor of "badness" will always permeate all sexual functions as long as that child lives. This same feeling of "badness" appears to be the greatest stimulus to promiscuous sexual exploration throughout adulthood; it seems to be the greatest source of the associated feelings of danger and adventure which are so attractive.

It is very important to understand that tabooing of activities does not mean the simple prevention of those activities on a reasonable basis. It means the prevention of activities, whether physical or mental, on an authoritative, moral-magic basis which is not arguable or answerable to reason. Certain controls which in themselves are quite reasonable, and both socially and personally desirable, can become both socially and personally damaging as the result of the use of authoritative moral-magic instead of reasonable methods of application.

Commonly in childhood the process goes something like this:

1. Child does something he wants to.
2. Mother punishes or disapproves with accompanying "Bad, bad boy."
3. Child is afraid of physical punishment, or threatened loss of security in disapproval, and does not again commit same act when mother is there, but
4. Child does same thing when mother is not there.
5. Mother discovers child has done it again, sometimes "a little bird told me" or "God told me." (As a result, child may enjoy killing nasty, tattling little birds, or may hate God as much as he dares to, all his life; both are enemies.) Other methods of discovery are not explained to child.
6. Mother punishes child.
7. Child stops doing it when mother is not there for the same reasons as (3) above, but he is now more confused with magic and more convinced of his essential "badness." He knows that he is supposed to be "good" but is really "bad." He must pretend he is "good" so that he will not be punished or meet disapproval from everyone.
8. Child imagines doing things he would like to do and often unguardedly indicates this to watchful parents.
9. Mother punishes or strongly disapproves of child's *thinking* things and frequently copes with the situation with "Remember God [already an enemy] always knows what you are thinking," with all its implied threat of continual, night-and-day surveillance, disapproval, and eventual punishment.
10. Child has to control his thinking and make it "good," leaving no outlet whatever for all his normal and desirable urges and wishes, which by now are almost all labeled "bad." All the "original sin," the normally developing human urges, must be hidden even from himself by pretence, guilt, shame, and fear. The result is usually a hatred and fear of God which may be compensated for by a superficial, cringing conviction and demonstration of "love," or, on the other hand, by a defiance of all rules attributable to God in an effort to prove to himself non-belief and thus avoid fear.
11. During this same time other magics which prevent the development of clear thinking have been set up. Among these are fairies, Santa Claus, personification of animals and things, night skies in which stars are deceased relatives, babies brought by storks, or in the doctor's bag, or found under rose bushes, and many other distortions of reality. Unless he goes through a long and difficult process of re-education it is probable that no child who has ever believed in any of these things can ever, throughout his life, think quite clearly and quite sanely about a wide variety of important things in his adult environment. This statement is not theory; it is quite provable.

Factual thinking for adults so authoritatively misinformed in childhood is permanently labeled bad and dangerous, and can be undertaken only defiantly or shamefully, accompanied by reactions of guilt, fear, and insecurity. Naturally the threat of these feelings is usually sufficient to repress any such attempt or to distort the attempted intellectual process extensively. Every psychiatrist has seen many clear illustrations of this process and knows that it is a potent factor in the production of the confused thinking which is almost universal in the human race. The astonishing belief is commonly supported, as a moral value, that it can be "bad" to know, to want to know, the truth.

Imagination has, by this process, been distorted and permanently crippled. It can be allowed to play only with "good" urges and desires, except with accompanying feelings of guilt and shame, or bravado and defiance. What is this "imagination" which may be crippled? It is a function of the highly developed cerebral lobes of his brain, possessed to a far greater degree by man than by any other animal, which enables him to picture and experience objects or circumstances or activities which are not present in reality. Does it matter if imagination in man is crippled and shackled by moral values and distorted by fears, if it is forbidden by taboos to explore in certain directions? Clearly, it does matter—very greatly.

Imagination provides a way of exploring without any real danger, of trespassing without being caught, of adventuring to gain experience without committing oneself in reality. Imagination is a scout that man may send out in all directions—past, present, and future—to investigate all circumstances, activities, possibilities, and consequences. Major adjustments to the important requirements of any civilization must be made in all fields of human urges. Only by true reports from a free imagination is it possible to get true pictures of the results of various kinds of adjustments to these demands. Each person's environment and problems of adjustment are different from those of others and continually change.

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They require always his own solution, not a standard rule to be applied at all times and under all circumstances throughout his life. If the scout (imagination) must be deaf to some things, blind to others, and may not feel still others, its value as a reliable source of information is greatly reduced. Actions and decisions founded on its reports are not likely to be effective or sensible.

The only possible substitute for imagination and reason as a guide to decisions and actions is "conscience." More foolishness has been talked and written about conscience than about almost anything else. It is quite clear, and easily provable, that conscience is nothing more nor less than whatever one believed in childhood. One should be guided by conscience only if one is prepared to believe that the child was wiser than the adult is now. To go to conscience for guidance is to appeal to the rules imposed on a child before he was able to defend himself from authoritative parental certainties which might or might not be true or relevant. Actually these are rarely the rules which parents use for themselves but are only their ideas of what children should believe—generally what the parents believed when they were children.

Thus, though the parents may have escaped intellectually from their childhood beliefs, they still commonly continue to have a potent though unrecognized faith in the rightness of their own consciences. The setting up of conscience as an authority is an attempt to legislate in childhood for all possible circumstances which may arise throughout life. It would be a very foolish parent who would think himself qualified to prescribe the desirable behavior of his children even thirty years from now, when he can have no idea of what changes may have been made in the local customs of the natives by that time. Surely it would be sounder to equip the child to do his own thinking, clearly and unafraid, not hampered by taboos or the certainties which happened to be the conscience values of his parents, imposed by the authority of their parents, and so on back.

It would appear that we have now discovered our diagnosis to be something like this: "Man is prevented from progressing peacefully along the pathway of intellectual development (the pathway determined by his inherent equipment) by distortions of his power to think clearly, distortions which are imposed on him while he is still a small child and defenseless against parental authority."

If this diagnosis is valid then the prescription is easy. Stop doing it. Stop giving children final answers, rights and wrongs, local or any other kinds of certainties. Allow them to look at everything. Help them to look at all available realities and encourage them to prepare to do their own thinking, independent of their parents' faiths.

It is as simple as that, but not easy. Perhaps enough people can do it to save the human race.

In the Wind

FRANCE STILL LIVES! Cognizant of this was a New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent who cabled this story: As the Paris-Nice express gathered speed and prepared to whirl through the whistle-stop town of Fréjus, one of the passengers could restrain himself no longer. He pulled the emergency-alarm chain. The train ground to a halt before the Fréjus station and out stepped Henri Giraud, Mayor of Fréjus. Admiring townsmen, who had long fought off the impulse to do what their mayor had dared to do, hoisted Giraud to their shoulders and paraded him triumphantly into town.

OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT. Judging from the juxtaposition of two recent books reported in the Labor Department's current *Monthly Labor Review*, the golden age of competition yet to come (sans OPA) should consist mainly of captains of industry—a book by Michael Gore lists "101 Ways to be Your Own Boss," but Paul W. Boynton can offer only a modest "Six Ways to Get a Job."

THE HUMAN SIDE: *Business Week* reports Frank W. Abrams, president of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), is gifted with talents that include an understanding of men. His first official act, while conducting a meeting of its manufacturing committee on a hot summer day, was to order all present to take off their coats.

NATURALLY! A sign on a display of wooden blocks with bored centers in a New York surplus-goods store: "We don't know what in the hell they are, but you're sure to find a use for 'em, at 7 cents ea."

WHY DIDN'T WE THINK OF THAT? The "Washington Calling" column of Scripps-Howard newspapers reprinted the following gem of economic reasoning which they credit to a business journal: "If milk prices go up several cents a quart, families in low-income brackets will use less. Surplus would go into other dairy products—butter, cheese, ice cream—eliminating shortages in these lines. If auto prices go high enough, fewer people will be able to buy cars (even on time payments), and there won't be any more worry about steel."

OPTIMISM UNBOUNDED: A Reuter dispatch in the Tientsin, China, *Evening Journal*, for June 29: "The construction of eighty-five fortresses (blockhouses and pill-boxes) at vantage points in the former foreign concessions of Tientsin has necessitated the expenditures of C. N. $300,000,000 (U. S. $150,000). This was revealed by Mayor Chang Ting-ngao who stated the expenditures would be refunded by the Central Government later. . . . Mayor Chang was inclined towards optimism regarding the prospects of settling China's internal differences."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

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G. B. S. at Ninety

BY KINGSLEY MARTIN

London

A WELL-KNOWN English critic, who recently reread the bulk of Shaw's works, wrote to me to express his disappointment in finding him after all "an indifferent artist." He added: "Maybe it is my eyesight that is at fault, but what I see is a chaos of clear ideas; a devotion to mankind based on emotional indifference to human beings; plenty of wit. That is all."

A harsh judgment on the greatest living writer of English prose. My first response is to cry out that such a summary leaves out the most important aspect of Shaw —G. B. S. himself. His personality impressed his age almost as Voltaire's did the mid-eighteenth century. He is what the world likes best of all—a great character. Today he has outlived his fame and become, to the younger generation, a legend. But as I found when I saw him the other day, he has in fact changed very little. He has, if you like, become one of his own Ancients. But his eyes are still as incredibly clear and his skin as pink as ever; he has the same upstanding carriage, though his legs trouble him on the stairs, and he carries a stick; he has the same immense gusto and infinite benevolence.

His vitality has not withered. He tells me that the thought of dying has become so familiar that he no longer thinks of it at all, and then, in the next breath, that he is utterly bored with people wanting to celebrate his ninetieth birthday; some of them even ask him to receive deputations. "I wrote and told them that I knew it would be a jollification for them, but that it would probably be the death of me." But he went further, explaining with his old vivacity his desire to have a Bernard Shaw Act of Parliament passed, an act to simplify the procedure by which one passes property over to local authorities, tax free, for some public purpose.

"I think," he said, "the country owes me some recognition. I don't want to be a knight, and I can't afford to be a duke, so I think they might give me an Act of Parliament. I don't mind whether my name is attached to it or not."

The biographers of Bernard Shaw will have no awkward incidents to cover. The more letters that are disclosed, the better light they will throw on G. B. S. In public he has been forced, by the insistence of beggars, to present a brazen front to charitable appeals; in private he is endlessly generous. The story of his loyalty to his old editor, Frank Harris, is typical. Harris was an unmitigated scoundrel, whom Shaw always befriended when he got into difficulties. Later in his life Harris wrote a shocking book full of libels about Shaw. After Harris's death, when his wife was hard up, Shaw took the book, rewrote most of it, published it as a "Life of Bernard Shaw," by Frank Harris, and gave the royalties to his widow. If Shaw's personal life is full of such incidents, it is because he is by nature benevolent, not because he is attached to individuals. Though he surprised his friends by making an extremely happy and successful marriage, he seems never to have had a grand passion as a young man—he preferred flirting with Ellen Terry by letter. Probably his deepest friendship has been with Beatrice and Sidney Webb, a friendship which has lasted without a break from the days when they were first associated in the Fabian Society in the '80's until now, when Shaw is 90 and Sidney Webb 87. But if Shaw has had few intimate friends, innumerable friendships, and millions of admirers, he has also made no enemies. Odd, one would say, for anyone who had hit so hard and fought so many battles with the gloves off. The explanation is that Shaw's high spirits remove the sting. The sneer inflicts a wound that does not readily heal; but pages of boisterous abuse, full of good-tempered mockery, are rather flattering. The attacks of G. B. S. are rather like the gusts of a high wind that blow the top-hat off a respectable city gentleman. The victim is forced to join in the general laughter.

All these are personal reasons for loving Bernard Shaw. They are no answer to the criticism that I quoted in my first sentence. An indifferent artist? Time will show. I should say myself that some of Shaw's comedies —"Candida," "Arms and the Man," "You Never Can Tell," for instance—will be constantly revived, as Sheridan is revived. Others will be mainly read by students of ideas. For this was Shaw's particular contribution to the British stage. He swept away the Victorian drawing-room comedy and, much influenced by Ibsen, introduced first the problem play and then his peculiar invention, the drama in which it is the ideas, and not the characters, that are dramatic. The extreme example of this is "Getting Married," which is all talk and no action. This *genre* will have few successful imitators, because Shaw's capacity for being continuously witty is unique. Perhaps his most remarkable feat is the third act of "St. Joan"

(Continued on page 100)

THE FIRST NINETY YEARS of George Bernard Shaw were concluded on July 26, 1946. By way of celebration those nine decades have been summed up by KINGSLEY MARTIN, editor of the London New Statesman and Nation, *and chronicled by OSCAR BERGER, internationally-known caricaturist, in this four-page section.*

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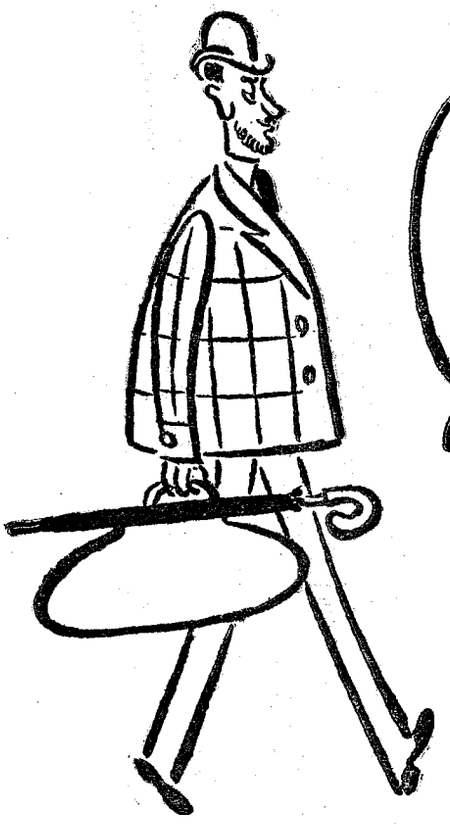
An Illustrated Gui

George Bernard

By OSCAR BERGE

1. *Baby George Bernard Shaw is born at 3 Upper Synge Street, Dublin, Ireland, on July 26, 1856.*



2. *Shaw, tired of working as an office boy and cashier in Dublin, goes to London in 1876 to join his mother and two sisters, and to find his métier.*

3. *He is 22 when he writes his first novel, "Immaturity," which was not printed until fifty years later.*

4. *G. B. S. joins the Fabian Society, is active as Socialist street-orator, lecturer, and pamphleteer (1884). He is reviewer for the* Pall-Mall Gazette *(1885), music critic for the London* Star, *drama critic for the* Saturday Review *(1888-1898).*

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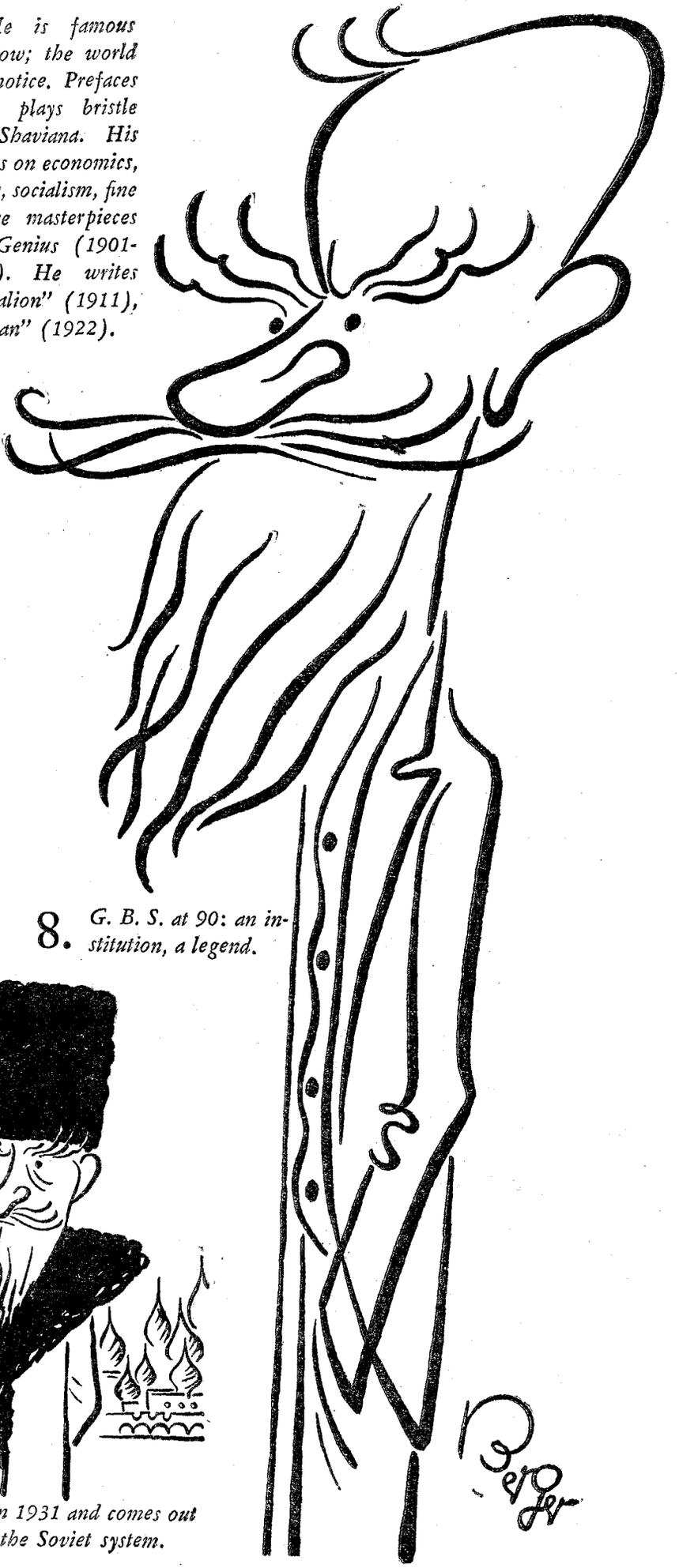
to

Shaw

n 1898 he marries Charlotte Frances Townshend in Lon-He writes "The Ad-e Bashville" (1900), and Superman"), "Major Barbara"), "The Doctor's Di-" (1905).

6. *He is famous now; the world takes notice. Prefaces to his plays bristle with Shaviana. His treatises on economics, biology, socialism, fine arts are masterpieces of a Genius (1901-(1915). He writes "Pygmalion" (1911), "St. Joan" (1922).*



8. *G. B. S. at 90: an institution, a legend.*

7. *Shaw visits Russia in 1931 and comes out a great admirer of the Soviet system.*

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(generally speaking, the most dramatic of his plays), which consists of a solid discussion of political theory lasting for more than an hour. The audience, I have noticed, listens without even shuffling its feet. The brilliant Hell scene in "Man and Superman," however, in which Shaw's philosophy is most fully worked out, lasts at least twice as long and can be played only to a highbrow audience.

A chaos of clear ideas? Personally I find some consistent strains of thought throughout the works of G. B. S. To me the most interesting is his attitude toward human history and progress. A historian of ideas is likely to see the "life force" as the working philosophy of rebels (and Shaw is first and foremost a Protestant) who have discarded conventional religion and could not accept the automatic progress believed in by nineteenth century materialists. It makes a useful distinction between the material world of mechanical forces, which we cannot alter, and the direction of human life, which we like to think is subject to our own will. Shaw's religion is a challenge to imagination and effort; he does not deny the possible regression of society, but he tells us that we can escape the doom which now seems so probable. The instruments of progress, in Shaw's view, are not ordinary men and woman, but the exceptional heroes and saints who, as he explains in his book on Wagner, are usually put to death by the rational people who want law and order. There is much resemblance here between Shaw and Carlyle. Shaw's heroes, however, are not conquerors like Frederick the Great, but heroes of imagination and intellect like St. Joan, Shelley, and, in his portrait, the matured Julius Caesar.

This emphasis on the Great Man fits in with the impersonal "emotional indifference" to ordinary men and women of which my correspondent complained. Like Carlyle, Shaw loathes the inefficiency and cruelty of the world and inveighs against the accepted conventions and the authorities who maintain them. Therefore, the early Shaw is the iconoclast loved by radicals. Not content with destruction, Shaw worked like any party hack for years as a Socialist lecturer and pamphleteer, and found, as the Webbs did, the consummation of his hopes in Soviet Russia. Hence he is loved by Socialists. But here we reach the point where inconsistency begins. For again like Carlyle, Shaw's skepticism about ordinary people's capacity to govern themselves has tended to make him a champion of authority. He even defended Mussolini and at one time thought we were foolish not to accept Hitler. Some of his later plays are diatribes against democratic institutions.

It would be easy to find pages of contradictions between Shaw, the rebel—declaring, for instance, that it was a sin for the educationist to mold the mind of any child—and Shaw, the champion of the authoritarian system of education in Russia; between Shaw holding that a Socialist state must shoot those who do not work, and Shaw saying, "Progress depends on our refusal to use brutal means even when they are efficacious." There is I think often an unresolved conflict between Shaw's impatience to put the world to rights, if necessary by autocratic means, and his temperamental and artistic love of freedom. But it must be remembered that at no time has Shaw ever been a liberal. He has always insisted that socialism and communism are one and the same thing, and though in practical politics he has been the most Fabian and pragmatic of political advisers, his theory has always been revolutionary.

Shaw once said of himself that "he would never be a really great author because just when he was about to achieve tragic heights, some absurd joke occurred to him and he could not resist the anti-climax." "I have got the tragedian and I have got the clown in me, and the clown trips me up in the most dreadful way." It is true; Shaw could never allow any of his characters, or himself, to get away with pretentiousness. No sooner do you think you see the moral that he would draw than he finds some real or absurd objection to it, and turns his tragedy into a comedy and sometimes, alack, even into a farce. Often, therefore, in his best plays—in "Major Barbara," for instance—you are left with the central problem brilliantly explained and quite unresolved. He must be fair to all his characters and avoid giving anyone the last word. If you think this impossible, notice how he rings the curtain down on some deflating incident which, perhaps, leaves his hero intellectual master but exposes him as humanly comic. This trick has made many people think that Shaw is only a jester, and he has done much in his private life to maintain this role. Once his lightest word became news, he was besieged by reporters. He did not fall for the usual device of the "star" and win his headlines with gush or slop. His method was to don the jester's colored stockings and make cracks about society and people which would set the world laughing, storming—or even thinking. For, when you sum it up, you see that Shaw in the last analysis is the great stimulator of thought, a moralist, constantly preoccupied with the problems of religion and social relations, using the weapon of satire to sweep out of the way the accumulated rubbish of false romance, bad arguments, and shoddy convention. Throughout, he has remained benevolent and puckish, preacher and jester, always personally beyond reproach.

The other day when I visited him at his home, he saw me off in the road and there, in a burst of high spirits, sang in a strong, clear voice (as he has done almost every day of his life in private) an operatic aria. "You see," he said, "even now my voice is no penny whistle." That, certainly, it never has been. It has been a voice not always, perhaps, in tune, but always potent to rouse men from lethargy, to entertain them, to make them think, and to make them want to think and act better.

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

A Test for Democratic Socialism

ON July 12, when the Coal Industry Nationalization Bill received the royal assent, Britain's greatest natural resource became the property of all its people. This is incomparably the most far-reaching economic change yet undertaken by the Labor Government and its consequences will be watched anxiously by both the friends and foes of socialism. "Our future," Emanuel Shinwell, who piloted the bill through Parliament, told the recent Labor Party Conference, "depends on whether or not this audacious experiment succeeds."

Let us make no mistake about it, nationalization of the British mines is going to prove a stern test for democratic socialism. In taking over coal production the Labor Government has acquired, not a smooth-running industry but one that is run-down, inefficient, and disintegrated. Moreover it is an industry in which a very acute short-term crisis has, as a result of the war, been superimposed on a chronic crisis. The new National Coal Board, which will be the top management of the industry and responsible to Parliament, must overcome both crises and it will have to work fast if Britain's whole economy is not to be disrupted for lack of fuel.

I have not the space to give any detailed account of the long-term crisis; it is in any case a fairly familiar story. Ever since the last war the British coal industry has been deathly sick. Its symptoms have been falling output and rising costs, and constant labor unrest. None of the varied prescriptions offered by successive governments ever resulted in more than very temporary improvement. It broke down on a diet of rigorous competition but it proved equally unable to flourish on a regimen of cartelization. A committee of technical experts reporting to the last British government in March, 1945, stated flatly: "It is evident to us, as mining engineers, that they [the changes necessary for efficiency] cannot be satisfactorily carried through if the industry is organized as it is today. . . . An authority must be established which would have the duty of ensuring that the industry is merged into units of such sizes as would provide the maximum advantages of planned production." This report made it clear that no solution for coal was to be found in private enterprise in the strict sense. The choice facing the British people was between private monopoly and public ownership.

In his book, "New Deal for Coal," Harold Wilson, young British economist and Labor Member of Parliament, has written: "With an industry whose history and psychology are so bitter, there can be no guarantee of success under nationalization; there is only the certainty of failure without it." Nevertheless, that certainty will not serve as an excuse if the nationalized industry fails to produce more coal at lower costs and to offer much improved working conditions to the men who dig it. In working towards this goal the advantages of single ownership and centralized management should soon become apparent. The National Coal Board will be able to close down the least efficient pits and so conserve its limited labor supply. It will be able to connect, and work as a unit, adjacent pits which hitherto have been under different ownership. It will be able to speed up the mechanization of coal-getting. And in attempting such tasks, the Board will not be handicapped by lack of funds, for the Nationalization Bill provides for a capital expenditure of $600,000,000 on modernization during the next five years.

But fundamental reorganization will not show immediate results, and it will not, therefore, meet the short-term crisis which consists of a lag of output behind Britain's basic minimum consumption of coal. In the first five months of this year average weekly production amounted to 3,575,000 tons compared with 4,353,000 in 1938. In that pre-war year, however, there was widespread unemployment and many factories were idle, so that demand was smaller. Today the fuel needs of industry are being barely met by severe rationing of domestic consumers and the reduction of exports to a fraction of their prewar total.

Addressing the recent convention of the National Union of Mine Workers, Will Lawther, the union president, declared that the situation "contains the elements of national disaster." If his forecast of a possible deficiency in supply of 20,000,000 tons next year is borne out, his language is none too strong. For lack of fuel would bog down Britain's whole recovery program, including the export drive, and cause an unemployment crisis at the peak of reconversion.

Reduced production by fewer workers is the immediate cause of this situation. In April, 1946, there were 84,000 fewer miners at work than the weekly average in 1938 and the output per man-shift had fallen to 1.01 tons compared with 1.14 prewar. New recruits for the industry are, therefore, an urgent necessity, particularly as the average age of mineworkers is very high—one reason for the fall in productivity. But in the first quarter of this year only 2,962 juveniles entered the mines while 16,670 old men died or retired. The return of some 17,000 miners from the armed forces prevented an actual decline in the total working force but this, obviously, is a source of manpower that must come to an end with the completion of demobilization.

The problem, then, is to attract youngsters into an industry which, owing to its past history, has a well-earned reputation as one to avoid. Under nationalization, we may expect in time a great improvement in safety and working conditions, together with a system of training and continued education which will make mining a career open to talent. But until such hopes begin to be realized they are not much inducement to boys entering industry. Early adoption of a five-day week, which, it is believed, would increase rather than reduce output, might help recruiting and may be one of the first steps taken by the National Coal Board. Another possibility is the engagement of men from the Polish army-in-exile, which is being disbanded, and other displaced persons. This proposal is at present strongly opposed by British miners but if alternative methods of raising output fail, they might reluctantly agree to its adoption on a limited scale. After all they have a great stake in the success of nationalization, which has been their goal for forty years, and they cannot afford to allow the experiment to be damned by a coal famine in its first crucial years.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Disenchantment of the World

FROM MAX WEBER: ESSAYS IN SOCIOLOGY. Translated, edited, and with an introduction by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. Oxford University Press. $5.

BROADLY speaking, Max Weber is a much-needed corrective to those "realistic" thinkers who attribute all social weal and woe to ill-analyzed "economic factors" and tend to regard all ideas (but their own, of course) as merely "reflections" and justifications of class interests. Weber was just as tough-minded as they, without being doctrinaire or simplistic. A vast amount of evidence convinced him that in fact ideas define, and thus help to "determine," interests. Consequently, he could reject the view that man is absolutely helpless in the face of a rigid historical determinism.

In his more comprehensive purview, the various "spheres" of action—political, economic, "status," and religious—are interdependent. Each of these spheres, to be sure, must first be analyzed separately with reference to its own peculiar problems. Thus, religious systems always deal, in part, with the problem of the irrationality of the world—the problem of "undeserved suffering, unpunished injustice, and hopeless stupidity." But the particular set of religious assumptions that any group develops to give "meaning" to the world (and thus to "solve" the problem) will inevitably have a bearing on the economic and political spheres also. This is the general form of the thesis which is illustrated in "The Protestant Ethic." The controversy over that essay arose partly because many critics were not familiar with the rest of Weber's work. Gerth and Mills now provide us with some more of Weber's confirmation, particularly in "The Protestant Sects and Modern Capitalism," "Religious Rejections of the World and Their Directions," and "The Social Psychology of the World Religions." ("Social Psychology" is a slightly ambiguous translation of *Wirtschaftsethik*, or "economic ethic.")

These fourteen essays are too broad in scope to be summed up in any neat formula; nevertheless, a persistent theme is the process of "rationalization"—the growth of "systematic coherence" in all phases of thought and social organization. This process has been carried to its greatest lengths in the Occident. Readers of "The Protestant Ethic" will remember that Weber lays great emphasis on the Calvinists' rejection of the sacraments and all other "superstition"—that is, on "the disenchantment of the world" in favor of rational techniques of mastery. A tremendous impetus to modern science was one of the consequences.

Another aspect of rationalization is analyzed in the famous essay on bureaucracy. As the editors say,

> Marx's emphasis upon the wage worker as being "separated" from the means of production becomes, in Weber's perspective, merely one special case of a universal trend. The modern soldier is equally "separated" from the means of violence, the scientist from the means of enquiry, and the civil servant from the means of administration. . . . The series as a whole exemplifies the comprehensive underlying trend of bureaucratization.

Moreover, the "separation" of the "worker" from the means of "production" is only one among many characteristics of bureaucracy, all tending toward greater predictability and efficiency in organization, regardless of the kind of work performed. Other characteristics, for example, are the strict definition, by general rules, of officials' respective spheres of authority and the separation of place of work from living quarters. "The Chinese Literati," which deals with the Imperial civil service, puts in relief the peculiar refinements of modern bureaucratic organization in government, business, and the Roman Catholic Church.

Whatever the subject he treats, whether the caste system or political parties, Weber uses scientific method and care throughout. He assigns precise meanings to words that are also used in ordinary discourse (e.g., "authority," "office," "sect"). He is able to compare data systematically from many times and places because his analysis proceeds in terms of abstract concepts. In fact, his procedure is more systematic than appears from this volume alone, for the more general parts of his sociological writing are not included. Having said this much, one should add that Weber's precision, in these essays, is not so technical as to discourage the intelligent non-specialist; and, above all, it by no means consists in that "painful elaboration of the obvious" with which sociologists are often, and sometimes justly, charged. For example, many of the essays besides "National Character and the Junkers" contain facts, too little known, that are essential to an understanding of "the problem of Germany."

The excellent introduction gives not only a clear account of Weber's life and personality but also some insight into the bearing of his personal relationships and his active political interests on the development of his theories.

The difficulty of Weber's German has prevented him from having as wide an influence in this country as he should. A few specialists, notably Talcott Parsons, have assimilated his conceptual scheme and even improved upon it; but his brilliant empirical studies, such as the ones collected here by Gerth and Mills, will be read for a long time to come. For minds of a scientific bent, it is hardly too much to say that Weber compensates for the disenchantment of the world.

HARRY M. JOHNSON

The Nature of Communist Crisis

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOVIET ECONOMIC SYSTEM. By Alexander Baykov. The Macmillan Company. $6.50.

THIS, the fifth in the series of economic and social studies sponsored by the National Institute of Economic and Social Research in London, is an excellent, straightforward account of the economic history of the Soviet Union from

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1917 up to about 1940. The author modestly disclaims the intention of writing an economic history, claiming his book to be "only an historical introduction to the description of the present-day system." Nevertheless, in form the book is essentially an economic history, and within the limits of its space it does a good, well-proportioned job. The author's general attitude seems to be that of a sympathetic critic. He divides the period into four well-defined parts—the period of war communism, the New Economic Policy, the collectivization struggle, and the revival of the later thirties. Within each of these four periods he analyzes the condition of industry, agriculture, trade, labor, finance, and the general conditions of planning. The main theme of the book is to show the development of the planned economy in all it aspects.

As books on Russia go, this is a good, if not a brilliant performance, written with a solid factual basis from original sources. All serious students of the subject will find it valuable. Like all books on Russia, it leaves a great many questions unanswered: the reader who lives and moves in the atmosphere of the Western world finds it difficult to penetrate beyond the abstractions and organizations to the real people who presumably live underneath them. Every sober, factual book of this nature needs as its complement a rousing novel —something that would transport the reader in imagination into the minds of the manager, the commissar, the Gosplan official, the Stakhanovite, and the ordinary Joe or Ivan.

Dr. Baykov is concerned to present the facts rather than to attempt interpretations. The facts themselves, however, are of such interest that the reader can hardly avoid trying to draw some conclusions—or at least to ask some questions. Two questions in particular arise in the mind of the present reviewer. The first is to what extent the apparent cyclical movement of Soviet history is a true cycle. The four periods into which Soviet history, before 1941, can be divided follow a fairly clear cyclical pattern. We have first the period of war communism and great social disorganization (depression?) followed by the establishment of greater security of property under the N. E. P. and the subsequent revival. This in turn is followed by the collectivization "depression," leading to the famine of 1931-32. Following this again we find a slackening of strictly Communist fervor against the establishment of greater security of property, differential wage rates, economic incentives, with again a revival of production. It would be absurd to call this phenomenon a "business" cycle, but it is a real question whether patterns of a more or less cyclical nature do not tend to be established in any society from causes lying very deep in human psychology. In Russia the cycle is "political" rather than "economic" in a strict sense, but it follows a broad pattern not wholly unlike the cycles of the Western world. We make mistakes, we learn something from experience when the effects of our mistakes become apparent, and in part rectify them. Then comes a period in which the lessons of past experience do not apply, and we make more mistakes, which in turn we must painfully learn to rectify. By transforming a society from one in which economic motives are strongest to one dominated by political motives we do not necessarily do away with this cycle; we merely replace the mistakes of business by the mistakes of government.

The second question concerns the nature of the planned economy itself. Dr. Baykov distinguishes rightly between the "planned" and the "controlled" economy. In the one, the economic structure is regarded as monolithic: as Stalin himself says, "Our plans are not prognosis, guess-plans, but *instructions* which are *compulsory* for all managements and which determine the future course of development of our *entire* country." It is in this sense that the Soviet Union is the world's biggest business. It would be interesting, incidentally, to make a comparative study of the organizational problems and patterns of power relationships in a large corporation and in the Soviet Union: one suspects that striking similarities would emerge. The controlled economy, on the other hand, is one in which the state acts merely as a governor of the system, controlling it by affecting the environment in which the numberless decisions of individuals are made. The planned economy, that is to say, is a genus of which a totalitarian war economy, an army, or a patriarchal family is a species. It is a profound law of being, however, that monolithic structures cannot go beyond a certain size without danger: the interaction of many small individuals may be more successful that the internal operations of a leviathan. The Soviet Union, and perhaps even the United States, might do well to ponder the fate of the Brontosaurus.

KENNETH BOULDING

Henry A. Wallace

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The Atomic Bomb

THE ABSOLUTE WEAPON. By Frederick S. Dunn, Bernard Brodie, Arnold Wolfers, Percy E. Corbett, and William T. R. Fox. Edited by Bernard Brodie. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

IN THE ten months that have elapsed since the atomic bomb made its frightful debut at Hiroshima social scientists have been faced with a problem of terrifying complexity. Indeed, it is little wonder that, up to now, most of the proposals advanced for the control of this new monster either have been narrowly technical or have offered solutions which, though logically attractive, have required political action far beyond the capacity of the world at its present stage of social development.

Meanwhile the social scientist is perplexed by the fact that he is supposed to rush forth with a solution which takes account, among others, of the following probabilities: first, that an American monopoly of atomic weapons is manifestly temporary; second, that in view of the premium given to the aggressor by this ghastly weapon there is no safety for anyone in the general possession of atomic bombs by all great powers; third, that because of this tempting advantage offered to the violator there is no safety in a policy of voluntary restriction through international treaties; and, finally, that the creation of a world state is not now practicable and may not even be desirable. Since he cannot take refuge in the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas or find comfort in the latest best-seller on world government, he has been obliged patiently to explore what possibilities for a solution exist within the framework outlined above. Thousands of men, billions of dollars, and years of preliminary effort were required to split the atom; yet the social scientist is supposed to evolve a satisfactory system of control on some bright day before tea time.

But sound work is being done, and the best evidence of it is this latest volume published by the members of the Yale Institute of International Studies. Avoiding panaceas and catchwords, the five collaborating scholars have prepared a serious analysis of the problem, studying the probable effects of the bomb upon the existing structure of international politics and exploring the practicable approaches to a solution. Their conclusions—to this reviewer, at least—seem sound, and the book deserves the widest possible reading by thoughtful men of good-will. Its greatest merit probably lies in the fact that it will be bitterly denounced by extremists of all categories.

The book begins with an introductory essay by Professor Dunn on the possibility that the world's treaty structure can safely be subjected to the strain of carrying an atomic-energy agreement. His conclusions, understandably enough, are skeptical. Bernard Brodie, the editor of the volume, then examines the effect of the bomb on military policy and the art of war. His list of basic postulates concerning the bomb and its effect does much to clear the murky atmosphere of public discussion, so beclouded by a disintegrating policy of official secrecy. Professor Wolfers follows with a brilliant essay on the implications of the bomb for United States–Soviet relations. Professor Corbett skilfully applies the same technique of analysis to the effects of the bomb upon international organization. The concluding essay by Professor Fox on the control problem strikes this reviewer as the sharpest and most lucid writing on the subject which he has seen.

In any book of political analysis the conclusions are bound to be much too subtle for brief and accurate summarizing. The authors point out that the bomb gives us little or no diplomatic purchase in political negotiations with the Soviet Union. They dispose effectively of the notion that the possession of the bomb by many countries might lessen its threat value to the world. They are equally sure that moonbeam-chasing after a world state at the present time is both futile and harmful. Consequently they reach the conclusion—which cannot be too often reiterated—that the answer to the problem of the bomb is not to be found in the discovery of some ingenious device, such as an elaborately conceived inspection system, but in the development of general political understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union. Since this is less of an answer than the basis for an answer, the authors do give a nod of approval to the Lilienthal report as the most promising proposal to date. They also suggest that the nations should agree to a policy of instantaneous retaliation against any state making illegal use of the bomb.

But in general, as this brief analysis indicates, the book is less concerned with specific proposals than with an investigation of the limitations and conditions which will affect the decision-makers. This illumination of the nature of the problem which confronts the statesmen is the major task of the social scientist. The Yale authors have discharged their share of responsibility.

GRAYSON KIRK

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and
WEST

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The Strategy of Kenneth Burke

A GRAMMAR OF MOTIVES. By Kenneth Burke. Prentice-Hall Inc. $5.

KENNETH BURKE'S "A Grammar of Motives" is the first work of a trilogy, to be followed by "Rhetoric of Motives" and "Symbolic of Motives." The series may be regarded as a detailed mining of the territory staked out in the earlier "Permanence and Change." It is the same Burke with the same quest and the same strategy, as baffling, as inconclusive, as penetrating, as rewarding as ever, working on the largest and most important job of criticism that is being done among us.

The quest is substantiality and the strategy is the criticism of linguistic resources. Substantiality not in the abstract, but in the concrete human sense of having an identity, standing for something, being oriented by a goal, answering Shakespeare's "What is your substance?" "Peer Gynt" is searchingly analyzed as a "character in search of his identity"; "A Grammar of Motives" is engaged in the same search. In this sense Burke is after a way of life for himself and modern man. But he differs from the easy prophets who know the answer by a recognition of the arduousness of the task, and in the linguistic means which he employs. His resources are those of the critic; he sometimes seems to believe that salvation can be obtained by semantics.

"A Grammar of Motives" forces us to assume a succession of points of view from which human motivation has been described, and then dissolves each perspective by showing its partiality in terms of other perspectives. We find ourselves engaged in a dramatic dialectic in which philosophers, political theorists, economists, poets, theologians, and psychologists all have their say, and each mode of saying is shown to need correction by each other mode. The book is experienced as a vast dialogue. The participant reader goes through a complex psychological process in which his initial value-perspective toward human nature is confronted by the multitude of attitudes which other persons have held. One is challenged to find himself by taking the role of others.

Does Burke by this strategy reveal his substance or lead the reader to find his own? Fairness would require that we wait for acts two and three of the critical drama. Yet some preliminary, and perhaps premature, comments are insistent. Burke's hope is surely that in the process of assuming a multiplicity of perspectives toward man something "substantial" will result. Whether this is so is not so clear. In "Permanence and Change" Burke believed that a knowledge of man's biological nature would reveal what is constant in human history, and that communism offered the value-orientation by which contemporary man could attain an ethical identity. In "A Grammar of Motives" Burke does not continue these suggestions; he remains primarily at the level of critic, more detached, more ironic, more uncertain. There are valuable hints that the new self (and the new society) can find its unity only in the dynamic interrelationship of its diversities—that a federated self and a federated society is the answer to the problem of substance and change. But this position is not worked through, and the concluding pages extol a "neo-Stoic" attitude, a rather tame ending for a dramatic inquiry into man conceived as a dramatic animal. We emerge, indeed, with a heightened sense of our linguistic resources, but with no clear indication as to how they are to be employed.

This result is what we should expect. For the work of the critic is not that of the scientist or the philosopher or the prophet. Burke's brilliant exploration of our modes of expression is made in terms of one mode of expression, that of criticism. It cannot give us the full story of our linguistic resources, nor can an analysis of man through his language provide us with a full account of human motives. Burke snaps at science in all his writings, but his literary version of motive and language greatly needs supplementation by the work of psychologists and linguists. His own special orientation to substantiality causes him to ignore important treatments by contemporary philosophers of the problem of substance. And his preoccupation with modes of expression is not the focus from which either poetry or prophecy emerges.

The critic, however, has his own important task, and Burke is performing that task admirably. "A Grammar of Motives" is a significant book. It will be read by those who take seriously the role of words in human life, and by those who are earnestly concerned with the fateful problem of what man is to make of man.

CHARLES MORRIS

BRIEFER COMMENT

Old Age: Some Remarks from Russia

IN READING "The Prolongation of Life" by Dr. Alexander A. Bogomolets (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $1.50), the reviewer has asked himself three questions which he deems pertinent: (a) precisely what is this "anti-reticular cytotoxic serum" which "prolongs life"? (b) what "test experiments"—on animals, for example—have been performed? (c) what is the experimental evidence for its benefits to man?

Answers to these questions, however, cannot be found in this book. The author fills his pages with discussions dealing with various theories connected with the aging process, interesting in themselves, and of value as an introduction to Bogomolets' researches, but that is all. The Director of the Kiev Institute of Experimental Biology (Bogomolets' official title) may be the great scientist that he is advertised to be, but the evidence for such a claim is not given in this book.

BENJAMIN HARROW

The Maze of Marriage

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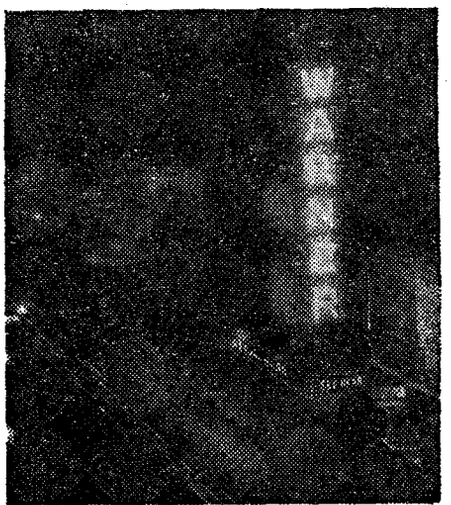

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Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE category of "primitive" is not large enough to contain the phenomenon of a talent such as that of Henri Rousseau ("le Douanier"). Unlike any other latter-day primitive, he painted monumental pictures and he helped determine the course of art. If the picture "Storm in the Jungle," with its cunning and almost facile play of tones within a limited range, and its surface enriched by streaks of glaze representing rain, is really and truly by Rousseau and was actually painted in 1891, then he did not even begin as a primitive. The superb *plein-air* handling of color in such a painting as "Landscape, Pointoise" and the placing of the darks and lights in "Medieval Castle" and "Evening Carnival" likewise vouch for his learnedness as a painter.

Why, then, did Rousseau usually stiffen and simplify his art into something more characteristically primitive, so that while gaining pattern and decorativeness he lost the subtler modulations? He was far from the knowingness that would have led some one to become a primitive deliberately. The case is puzzling. Perhaps if we had more information about Rousseau's personality in the years before the *avant-garde* got to know him, it would be less puzzling. As it is, we can only venture hypotheses.

It seeems certain that Rousseau did not paint as a primitive simply because he was isolated, or lacked training, or was without dexterity of hand and eye. Whether or not he was always the psychotic he appears to have been in his old age, he seems to have been at least simple-minded, a *naïf*, from the first (and it is told that he used to "see ghosts"). It was perhaps his simplicity, translated into an aberration of the eye, that saved him from realizing in his own work the dead academic finish he admired so much in Gérôme's and Bouguereau's. In my opinion it was almost certainly the growing derangement of his mind that in later years freed him so completely from the conventions of nineteenth century art and made it possible for him to attack his vision so directly and conform to it so exactly in his execution. It is this directness that is primitive.

Rousseau in his derangement, which made him paint as if six hundred years of Western art had never been, joined the company of two other more or less deranged artists, who painted precisely as if to refute those six hundred years. Cézanne too was a little balmy, not to mention Van Gogh. (And there was also a lesser painter in America, Eilshemius, whose unbalanced mind permitted him a boldness he might have turned to better advantage for modern art had he lived in France and become well acquainted with Impressionism.) Thus those who maintain that modern art was started by mental cases would seem to be right. But they are only partly right, in a way they do not intend—a way that does not at all compromise modern art.

Just as Rimbaud had to give birth to modern poetry by deliberately cultivating the "derangement" of his senses, so those who made the leap from impressionism to that which came after could find the courage to leave the practical reality of the bourgeois world (impressionism having already arrived at that sort of reality after leaving official, ostensible reality) only when pushed by mental impulses so strong and so disconnected from the actual environment that they had to be those of psychotics. It took an extreme eccentric to shut his eyes with Cézanne's tenacity to the established examples before and around him and go on pursuing his "little" sensations with such fidelity to an ideal only he had glimpsed—yet which represented a reality more valid than that recognized by high and low in his time. Without his madness Van Gogh would, in the beginning, have seen only too clearly the distance between his own painting and the official variety he, like Rousseau and Thomas Eakins, admired so much; and had he seen that distance well enough, he would have been able to close it, to the detriment of his art.

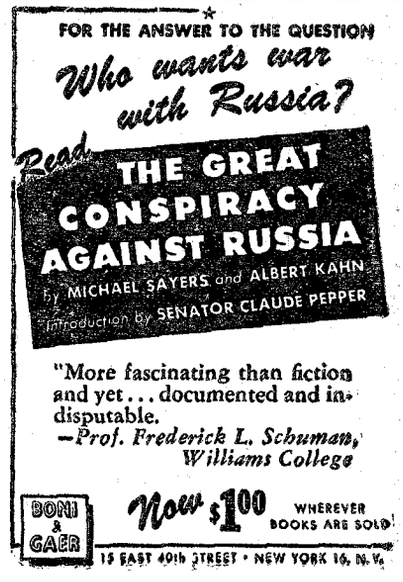
That which modern art asserts in principle—the superiority of the medium over whatever it figures: thus the inviolable flatness of the picture plane; the ineluctable shapedness of the canvas, panel, or paper; the palpability of oil pigment, the fluidity of water and ink—this expresses our society's growing impotence to organize experience in any other terms than those of the concrete sensation, immediate return, tangible datum. Modern art is now practiced by such relatively cold, hard heads as Matisse and Picasso, who produce it out of their sense of contemporary experience. But it needed mental cases to show them the way, to cut through to the ultimate truth of life as it is lived at present.

In this sense Rousseau deserves to rate as one of the founding fathers of modern art. It is not only—as R. H. Wilenski suggests—that he influenced Gauguin and, through him, Van Gogh. And it is not only that he painted some great pictures (and even so, we should be careful not to over-rate him, for his total work does not cover enough ground to rank him with the greatest painters). It is, even more, that his flat, direct, almost crass colors, contours, and modelling gave to many painters the first real impression they ever got of what life, reduced to solely empirical considerations and without the deception (but also protection) of faith in anything, looks like in art. Of course what we may also have in Rousseau is the very poetry of such elemental existence—but I doubt whether that poetry is the main thing.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

DISCUSSING a volume of Nietzsche's writings many years ago Shaw described how a philosopher could operate with spurious materials —how, "having pieced an illusory humanity and art out of the effects produced by his library on his imagination, [he can] build some silly systematization of his worthless ideas over the abyss of his own nescience." As I read this I reflected that with only a few modifications it would describe similar operations of the musicologists. Thus, of the article on chamber music that Professor Láng contributed to a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New Friends of Music booklet last year one might say that having pieced illusory nineteenth-century audiences, composers, and music out of the effects produced by his imagination on the facts, he built a systematization of his inventions over the abyss of suppressed truth.

To deal with the entire article would take an entire issue of *The Nation;* let it suffice, therefore, that for Professor Láng chamber music, in the nineteenth century, was reduced to "the private affair of a musical minority, a musical élite" which was "able to derive enjoyment from 'absolute' music"; while the public musical scene was dominated by the "Bengal light" orchestral sonorities of program music, the music with extra-musical meaning that was "dictated" by the new concert-hall public "composed of the large mass of the middle classes" who "possessed the necessary general culture but whose musical capabilities could not rise to pure music." And let it suffice to say that actually chamber music and other non-programmatic instrumental music continued to be written throughout the century—by Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Brahms, Dvorak, Fauré, among countless others—at the same time as program music and often even by the same composers; that it was performed at public concerts for members of the middle-class public; that Edwin Denby's observation—"to recognize poetic suggestion through dancing one has to be susceptible to poetic values and susceptible to dance values as well"—is true also of poetic suggestion through music; indeed that as cultivated a musical taste is required by the subtleties of melody, harmony, instrumentation, and form which convey the poetic suggestion of the Love Scene of Berlioz's "Romeo and Juliet" as by the analogous subtleties of a Mozart string quintet; and what "dictated" the composition of music like "Romeo and Juliet" was the stimulation of the composers' musical imagination by poetry.

And now, as I mentioned last week, the falsifying schematization is being done with jazz. The Rudi Blesh article in the *Herald Tribune* began by describing the classic jazz of New Orleans: an improvised instrumental polyphony in which there was an equilibrium of African, Afro-American, and Western (European) elements, with the African predominant. Expansion to Chicago and New York brought change: "With its difficult balances held by delicate inner tensions and not yet firmly fixed into a stable form it was to be an easy prey everywhere outside New Orleans to the deforming and denaturalizing influences of popular Tin-Pan-Alley song and the nineteenth-century romantic harmonic tendency from which this song derives, however remotely." And change meant alteration of the equilibrium in the direction of Western "serious" music: "[The] classic instrumentation, one or two trumpets, clarinet, and trombone over a firm percussive-rhythmic section, so logical and essential to jazz polyphony, was expanded into the larger orchestra with two or three trumpets, a like number of trombones, and the ineffectual and inappropriate saxophones replacing the clarinet. The music changed, unobserved, but immediately; polyphony perforce dropped out and its improvisation with it; a new scheme was set up, a hybrid of harmonic-symphonic procedure, and improvisation lingering only in the solo which became a meaningless vehicle to display individual virtuosity." In the schematization, then, deviation from New Orleans jazz meant large-band "swing"; whereas in fact it meant also the jazz of Louis Armstrong's Hot Five and Savoy Ballroom Five, of the Chicagoans, and of any number of other small groups.

Besides recent reissues there is Victor's album (Set HJ-7; $5) of newly recorded performances by Bunk Johnson's Band—the living original New Orleans collective improvisation, which I have enjoyed, but without feeling impelled to throw out my Armstrong-Dodds "Wild Man Blues" and Teschmacher "I've Found a New Baby."

CONTRIBUTORS

HARRY M. JOHNSON is assistant professor of sociology at Simmons College. He is now working on a book about the social structure of France between the two World Wars.

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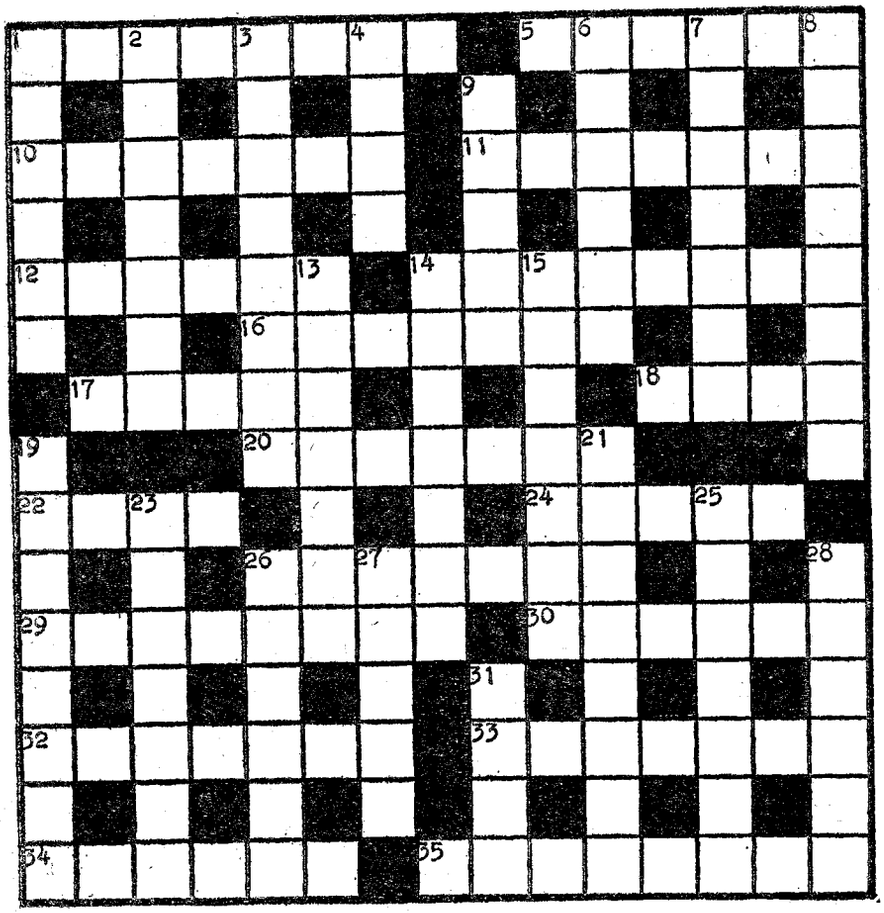
Crossword Puzzle No. 171

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 1-Down's feminine counterpart
5 Shut, it will keep out most of itself
10 One who obtrudes unfairly
11 As it happened
12 Take by compulsion
14 Your so-called double
16 Mix lover an opiate
17 Coal residue
18 Non-flowering plant
20 Corporation
22 Decays
24 Hams
26 A bee, for example
29 Rather hidebound in their business views, no doubt
30 Kidnap (slang)
32 Loiterer
33 Constructor
34 Most uncommon, this
35 Object of Love's wishful thinking

DOWN

1 Members of the Platelayers' Union?
2 Imputes (anag.)
3 Second string
4 The slave who would not obey Canute?
6 Is not Miss Cain
7 Death
8 Fool birds
9 Broken victuals
13 Having left a will
14 Defeated Harold at Senlac
15 Striking contests
19 He gets one down
21 Naval dance of peace and plenty
23 A pressing matter for the infantryman
25 No good Katherine's denying her action when this creature is about
26 Imparters of secret information
27 I read a Turkish decree
28 Split
31 Scottish town

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 170

ACROSS:—1 AGLOW; 6 JUDGE; 9 RISIBLE; 10 AMBLE; 11 TIMES; 12 THRONGS; 16 MENACE; 19 RAMSAY; 22 WHAT A GAME; 23 SPIN; 24 AJAX; 25 ISINGLASS; 26 BORN; 27 UPON; 28 GRENADIER; 31 TEASES; 33 EVELYN; 36 ASPERSE; 39 BROOD; 40 NEVER; 41 EXIGENT; 42 SPEAR; 43 SERVE.

DOWN:—1 ALARM; 2 LABAN; 3 WRETCH; 4 TSAR; 5 OBAN; 6 JETSAM; 7 DUMPS; 8 ESSAY; 13 HEAVINESS; 14 ORANGEADE; 15 GRANARIES; 17 EXPLODE; 18 AWNINGS; 20 MEASURE; 21 ANATOMY; 29 READER; 30 EVENTS; 31 TUBES; 32 AFORE; 34 LIVER; 35 NORSE; 37 PRIM; 38 REEK.

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